

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7351

S E C R E T ANKARA 9970

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR

SUBJ: MESSAGE FROM FONMIN ESENBEL TO SECRETARY KISSINGER

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF DEC 30 ORAL MESSAGE TO YOU FROM FONMIN  
ESENBEL WHICH I COMMENTED ON IN MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING TELEGRAM.

BEGIN TEXT:I HAVE TAKEN CONGNIZANCE OF YOUR ORAL MESSAGE OF DEC 27,  
WHICH YOU HAVE CONVEYED TO ME THROUGH AMBASSADOR MACOMBER.

FIRST, IF YOU ALLOW ME, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE UP THE QUESTION ON  
THE TURKISH REFUGEES IN THE BRITISH BASES. AS YOU KNOW WE CONSIDER  
THIS MATTER AS A QUESTION WHICH COULD SOLEY BE SOLVED BETWEEN  
TURKEY AND GREAT BRITAIN. IN OUR OPINION, IT CANNOT BE DISCUSSED  
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS, IN FACT, DURING MY  
CONVERSATION WITH MR. CALLAGHAN IN BRUSSELS I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF  
CONFIRMING THIS POSITION OF OURS TO HIM. IN REPLY, MR. CALLAGHAN  
HAD INDICATED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION BUT ADDED THAT IN  
CASE DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS START, INDEPENDENTLY FROM THESE TALKS  
BUT BENEFITING FROM THE PROPITIOUS ATMOSPHERE THAT MAY BE CREATED, HE  
WOULD FEEL MORALLY STRENGTHENED TO TAKE THE APPROPRIATE ACTION FOR THE

RELEASE OF THE TURKISH REFUGEES. AT THAT TIME MR. CALLAGHAN HAD ALSO  
INDICATED THAT THE AREA INHABITED BY THE TURKISH REFUGEES WAS FLOOD-  
ED AND THAT THIS SITUATION HAD CREATED NEW PROBLEMS. THEREUPON I  
HAD TOLD HIM THAT DUE TO THIS DISTRESSING SITUATION HE SHOULD TAKE

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IMMEDIATE ACTION REGARDING REFUGEES AND THAT AS AN INITIAL STEP THE

ELDERLY, THE WOMEN, THE CHILDREN AND THE SICK PEOPLE SHOULD BE LET FREE TO GO TO THE PLACES OF THEIR CHOICE. MR. CALLAGHAN RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD STUDY MY REQUEST AND REPLY TO ME WITHIN A WEEK. ALTHOUGH HE SENT ME A MESSAGE ON 24TH DECEMBER ON THIS MATTER, THEREIN WE COULDN'T FIND ANY POSITIVE ELEMENT THAT WOULD HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM. AS A CONSEQUENCE, WE ARE STILL AWAITING A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE BRITISH. IF YOU CAN BE OF ANY HELP TO THAT EFFECT, I WOULD BE MUCH APPRECIATIVE.

AS FOR THE QUESTION OF FIVE-PARTY-CONFERENCE WHICH WAS RAISED AT THE INITIAL CONTACTS BETWEEN MRS. DENKTASH AND MR. CLERIDES, OUR POSITION IS WELL KNOWN TO YOU. THIS QUESTION IS SO IMPORTANT FOR US THAT I DEEM IT WOULD BEAR REPETITION. OUR BASIC POSITION ON THIS MATTER IS THAT THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION SHOULD BE CONSUMMATED AT A FIVE-PARTY-CONFERENCE AS IT HAS BEEN STARTED IN GENEVA. AS YOU UNDERLINED DURING YOUR TALKS LATE SEPTEMBER AND BEGINNING OF DECEMBER IN NEW YORK WITH THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER, THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED AS AN INTERMEDIATE WAY LEADING TO FIVE-PARTY-CONFERENCE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS HAD NEVER BEEN REGARDED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FIVE-PARTY-CONFERENCE. WE KNOW THAT YOU HAVE BEEN IN AGREEMENT WITH US ON THIS POINT AND WE HAVE NOTED THAT YOU HAVE RECONFIRMED IT IN YOUR ORAL MESSAGE OF DECEMBER 27. AS THIS HAS BEEN THE BASIC PREMISE THE NEED TO TAKE IT UP IN BRUSSELS NEVER AROSE AND CONSEQUENTLY WE ONLY DISCUSSED THE MODALITIES OF THE INTERMEDIATE WAY NAMELY THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

AS IS KNOWN THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF CYPRUS, IN ADDITION TO THE TWO COMMUNITIES CONCERNED INTERESTED VERY CLOSELY TURKEY AND GREECE, AND THROUGH THE AGREEMENT REACHED WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CYPRUS WAS BORN AND THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE THEREOF WAS GUARANTEED BY THE GUARANTOR POWERS. THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WAS THE NATURAL OUTCOME OF THESE FEATURES OF THE STATE OF CYPRUS. THEREFORE, IN CASE DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS ON HUMANITARIAN AND PRACTICAL SUBJECT MARK SUBSTANTIAL HEADWAY THUS ENABLING THEM TO TAKE UP SOME FEATURES OF THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY AT A CERTAIN ADVANCED STAGE TO RECONVENE THE FIVE-PARTY-CONFERENCE. THEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THIS CONFERENCE THE GUARANTOR POWERS WOULD FINALIZE AND ENDORSE THE POLITICO-STRUCTURAL AGREEMENTS REACHED AT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AND FROM A

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REALISTIC POINT OF VIEW AND MOST LIKELY THE TWO NATIONAL GUARANTORS WOULD RESOLVE THE REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS WHICH THE TWO COMMUNITIES WERE NOT ABLE TO SETTLE. THE PRESERVATION OF THE FACTUAL AND LEGAL INTEREST THAT TURKEY HAS TOWARD THE POLITICAL FATE OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS IS A MATTER ON WHICH WE CANNOT MAKE ANY SACRIFICE NOR BARGAINING.

ALTHOUGH MR. CLERIDES' ATTEMPTS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF QUARANTEES

WAS UNTIMELY AND UNFORTUNATE, IT WAS PERHAPS USEFUL AS IT REVEALED THE TRUE INTENTIONS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT AND GOVERNMENT OF GREECE SIDE FROM THE OUTSET. YOU WILL RECALL THAT DURING OUR TALKS IN BRUSSELS I HAD EMPHASIZED THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, GREECE'S AND ESPECIALLY MR. KARAMANLIS' CONTINUOUS GOODWILL WOULD BE NECESSARY. YOU WOULD CONCEDE THAT UNLESS GREECE ACTS IN HARMONY WITH THE ABOVE OUTLINED BASIC TURKISH POSITION IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO EXPECT THAT THE TALKS TO BE INITIATED BETWEEN DENKTASH AND CLERIDES YIELD POSITIVE RESULTS. ON OUR SIDE WE HAVE NOT ASKED MR. CLERIDES THAT HE SHOULD TAKE UP THE QUESTION OF GUARANTEES WITH MR. DENKTASH. IN OUR VIEW THE GUARANTEES STILL EXIST AND ARE VALID. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE MR. CLERIDES SHOULD AGREE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE EVENTUAL AGREEMENTS TO BE REACHED BETWEEN DENKTASH AND CLERIDES WOULD BE FINALIZED AND ENDORSED BY THE GUARANTORS AT THE FIVE-PARTY-CONFERENCE TO BE CONVENED AT A LATER STAGE. WE SEE NO REASON WHY THIS POSITION OF OURS COULD CONSTITUTE AN OBSTACLE TO THE RESUMPTION OF DENKTASH-CLERIDES TALKS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED IN BRUSSELS.

AS IT WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD FROM THE ABOVE, TURKEY WOULD IN NO WAY CONSENT THAT THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF GUARANTEES BE ENLARGED, MODIFIED OR ADULTERATED. WE WERE SATISFIED TO NOTE FROM YOUR STATEMENTS IN BRUSSELS THAT YOU WERE IN AGREEMENT WITH US ON THIS POINT.

AS REGARDS THE QUESTION OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY LINK BETWEEN THE MILITARY AID AND THE CYPRUS QUESTION AND IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS WE HAVE STRONGLY STRESSED THIS POINT. ON THE OTHER HAND, IN BRUSSELS YOU YOURSELF EQUALLY MADE THIS POINT VERY CLEAR BY UNDERLINING THAT THE MILITARY AID WAS NOT GIVEN AS A FAVOUR TO TURKEY BUT THAT IT WAS UNDERTAKEN IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND NATO ALSO. THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION TOOK CONCERN OF THESE STATEMENTS OF YOURS. THE IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS  
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WELL KNOWN TO YOU. IT IS OUR AIM TO CARRY ON OUR COOPERATION AND SECURITY RELATIONS IN A SPIRIT OF PERFECT UNDERSTANDING AND THIS OBJECTIVE HAS ALSO BEEN STATED IN THE PROGRAMME OF OUR GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOTED FROM YOUR LAST MESSAGES THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS CONTINUE TO RELATE THE AID ISSUE WITH THE CYPRUS QUESTION. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES I CANNOT REFRAIN FROM CONVEYING TO YOU MY CONCERN THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THIS ATTITUDE WILL GREATLY OFFEND THE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION. TURKISH CYPRIOTS AFTER LONG SUFFERINGS HAVE NOW FOUND THE POSSIBILITY TO LIVE IN FREEDOM ON THEIR OWN LAND. I THEREFORE FEEL DUTY BOUND TO INDICATE TO YOU THAT TURKEY WOULD NEITHER MAKE SACRIFICES FROM HER JUST VIEWS ON CYPRUS, NOR ALLOW HER RESOLVE TO SAFEGUARD THE RIGHTS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS BE SHAKEN. I AM GREATLY CONCERNED THAT IN CASE THIS UNJUST TENDENCY IN THE CONGRESS PERSISTS, THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF WHICH WE DISPLAY SO MUCH CARE,

MIGHT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED.

IN THIS QUITE LENGTHY ORAL MESSAGE OF MINE I HAVE TRIED TO EXPOUND  
OUR VIEWS AND POLICY MOST CANDIDLY. IT IS MY HOPE AND BELIEF THAT  
YOU WOULD CONSIDER THEM IN THE SAME SPIRIT AND CONTINUE YOUR  
EFFORTS WICH WE ALWAYS APPRECIATED, IN ORDER THAT OUR MUTUAL COOP-  
ERATION AND ENDEAVOURS YIELD SATISFACTORY RESULTS. END TEXT.  
MACOMBER

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